Revealing: *$6.2 Billion More For Thieu, P .2*

We Salute The Finest Graduating Class in America's History — That of 1969

"It can be said of this class that we protested against injustice and discrimination and we were right. We demanded an end to poverty and we were right. We refused to accept an unjust war and we were right . . . Let us hope that in the future it can be said of us that we refused to accept our society as it was, and instead worked to make it closer to what it can be, because that too will be right."

—John E. Rorer at Harvard's Commencement June 12.

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Toward A 2nd Assassination of Martin Luther King?

The use of the police as a domestic army to maintain the status quo is not new. "For decades," says a newly released staff report to the Commission on Violence,* "the police were the main bulwark against the labor movement: picket lines were roughly dispersed, meetings were broken up, organizers and activists were shot, beaten, jailed or run out of town." This was still true only 30 years ago. The dangers of a police state are far greater today because the labor movement not only has become a pillar of the status quo, but the unskilled, underpaid "ethnic" minorities it then organized have themselves become resistant to change, fearful of a new "underclass" pushing from below to share their place in the sun. The election of a police detective as Mayor of Minneapolis, long a Democratic-Farmer Labor stronghold, against a conventional Republican candidate backed by Nixon, is a portent of this shift to the nightstick. So is the victory of rightist candidates in New York's Mayoralty primaries. The police point of view has never had so broad a constituency.

If It Weren't For Agitators

The essence of the police mentality is a belief that social unrest is best met by force. Its corollary is that there would be no trouble if it were not for "agitators." It rests on the conspiracy theory of history and it is profoundly antithetical to democracy, for it instinctively regards dissent as "subversive." This is "the law" as an ever wider spectrum of black, brown and white dissent has begun to feel it. The struggle is on again between demonology and democracy, as we knew it 30 years ago and can read about it in every earlier period of American social change. The danger to a free society is greater because the line between have and have-not has become racial. This is highly inflammable. If we are to avoid a full-scale civil war, it is urgent that we remember at home what we constantly forgot in Southeast Asia—that the root causes are social and political and that force will only exacerbate conflict.

Forty pages of the new Violence Commission report on The Politics of Protest are devoted to the police and their intrusion into politics. Jerome H. Skolnick and his staff have done a brilliant and indispensable analysis. There are thoughtful and educated men in the police but most policemen are racist and repressive. They would have elected Goldwater in 1964 and Wallace in 1968. Their indoctrination makes them peculiarly unfit to deal with a crisis of aspirations. "It is difficult," the new report says—

to find police literature which recognizes that the imperfection of social institutions provides some basis for the discontent of large segments of American society . . . organized protest tends to be viewed as the conspiratorial product of authoritarian agitators—usually "Communists" —who mislead otherwise contented people . . . Thus Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, before the Commission on September 18, 1968, stated that: "Communists are in the forefront of civil rights, anti-war and student demonstrations . . . " His views are reflected and disseminated throughout the nation—by the news media and by FBI seminars, briefings and training for local officials.

All the warnings of the Violence Commission staff report are pointed up by the sweeping right to wiretap claimed by the new Attorney General in the Chicago convention demonstration cases and by J. Edgar Hoover's defense of the FBI's action in tapping the wires of Martin Luther King. The Attorney General's claims illustrate the tendency toward lawlessness inherent in the policeman's view that he is "the law"

(Continued on Page Four)

Portrait of The Police

We find that the policeman in America is overworked, undertrained, underpaid and undereducated. His difficulties are compounded by a view expounded at all law enforcement levels — from the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation to the patrolman on the beat. This view gives little consideration to the effects of such social factors as poverty and discrimination and virtually ignores the possibility of legitimate social discontent. Typically, it attributes mass protest instead to a conspiracy promulgated by agitators . . . Police view students, the anti-war protestors, and blacks as a danger to our political system, and racial prejudice pervades the police attitudes and actions. No government institution appears so deficient in its understanding of the constructive role of dissent in a constitutional democracy as the police.

—The Politics of Protest. A new staff report to the National Commission on Violence by Jerome Skolnick.

*** The Politics of Protest. A Staff Report to the National Commission on The Causes and Prevention of Violence prepared by Jerome Skolnick. 276 pps. U.S. Supt. of Documents, $1.25.**

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THE MOST IMPORTANT REVELATION about our future Vietnam plans has gone almost unnoticed at p. 64 of the just released Senate Appropriations hearings on the '69 second supplemental. We plan to spend $6.2 billion in the next five years on the South Vietnamese Army. This may not be enough to enable Thieu on his own to win the war but it will certainly give him the firepower to maintain his dictatorship. The long-range planning is for long-range involvement. The strategy is still—as one Pentagon official explained privately earlier—to reduce the number of U.S. combat troops and the fighting to a level the U.S. public will tolerate for a long pull. Even Clifford suggests leaving air-lift and air support forces in Vietnam after combat troops have left.

IF CONGRESS REALLY WANTS to set an example in law and order, it will pay Adam Clayton Powell his back pay, reimburse his fine and restore his seniority. There is solid constitutional ground for the Supreme Court's decision that the House had no right to exclude him in 1967 (or—we infer—to impose a $25,000 fine and loss of seniority as the price of admission in 1969). The Powell decision says the House may punish or even expel for misconduct but it may not exclude a member who meets the three qualifications set forth in the Constitution as to age, citizenship and residency. The Framers had in mind the case of John Wilkes, a hero of the American Colonies. Like Powell, Wilkes was a gay dog but he made Britain more democratic and its press more free. He was three times elected to Parliament and three times excluded. He finally won his seat and established the principle that a duly elected member could not be excluded. The Wilkes precedent was not breached here until the end of the Civil War when several elected members from the South were excluded on the ground that they had given aid and comfort to the Rebellion. The Powell ruling, like that in Julian Bond's exclusion from the Georgia legislature, says a duly elected member cannot be barred because the majority does not like his views. This is exactly what the Framers intended.

NOT THE LEAST OF THE WARREN COURT'S final gifts to civil liberty was its unanimous per curiam decision reversing the conviction of a group of Klansmen under the Ohio Criminal Syndicalism Act and explicitly overruling the decision in Whitney v. California (1927) a landmark case in the witch-hunt of the early 20s. The reversal established the principle that mere advocacy of violence or revolution as a means of social change is protected by the First Amendment. Criminal syndicalism statutes were a favorite weapon against radicals in the 20s and 30s and could be again in coming years. Brandeis's noble protest 42 years ago in Whitney rings as true today. "Those who won our independence . . . knew that order cannot be secured," he wrote, "merely through fear of punishment . . . fear breeds repression . . . repression breeds hate . . . hate menaces stable government . . . the path of safety lies in the opportunity to discuss freely supposed grievances . . . the fitting remedy for evil counsels is good ones." This is the liberal tradition at its best.

A Maverick Jesuit Defends SDS

"The dangers are real: militarism, racism and the resulting poverty. These are the real sources of violence . . . Unless some visible structure appears to move against these evils, the SDS could disappear today and something like it would appear tomorrow . . . What the world requires in the 24th year of the atomic age is not the setting up of a student group as a scapegoat for American violence. What is needed is an end to the preparation for violence in the arms race, in Vietnam and in the draft."

—The Rev. Richard T. McSorley, S.J., assistant professor of theology at Georgetown University, before the House Committee on Internal Security (formerly HUAC) June 17. Father McSorley was invited to appear after he complained that the Committee's current investigation of SDS was one-sided but Chairman Ichord objected that Father McSorley's statement did not "address itself to the subject matter." He was not allowed to read it in full and copies were taken away from the press table. He was subjected to a standard model witch-hunt interrogation designed to make him give the names of SDS members, to trap him into contradicting informer testimony and to link him with "subversive" views. The one black liberal member of the Committee, Rep. Louis Stokes of Cleveland, came to his defense.

22 Young GOP Congressmen Give Nixon A Sympathetic Report on Campus Unrest

"We came away from our campus tour both alarmed and encouraged. We were alarmed to discover that this problem is far deeper and far more urgent than most realize, and that it goes far beyond the efforts of organized revolutionaries. By the same token, we were encouraged by the candor, sincerity and basic decency of the vast majority of students we met. Too often, however, we saw their idealism and concern vented in aimless or destructive ways.

"It is clear that if violence on our campuses does not end, and if the reaction to it is on the one extreme too lax, or on the other extreme too harsh and indiscriminate, the vast moderate student majority may be forced into the arms of the revolutionaries, and those who seek to destroy the fabric of higher education will have succeeded.

"There is on the campus today a new awareness of potential student power and the emergence of a large group, probably the vast majority of student leaders and a substantial number of intelligent, concerned and perplexed young people which has genuine concern over what it feels is the difference between the promise and performance of America. The revolutionaries on campus are few. However, many students can be radicalized when violence occurs. Also disillusionment in our system by students can grow if we place one label on all students and fail to understand that they raise many areas of legitimate concern. Perhaps our most pressing conclusion is that rash legislative action cutting off funds to entire institutions because of the actions of a minority would play directly into the hands of hard-core revolutionaries.

"A substantial number of black students state that they have lost faith in our political system. They say there 'are political wolves in the South and political foxes in the North.' The main goal of the majority of black students seemed to be service to their 'black brothers and sisters.' Some said they would rather die for their people in the streets than in Vietnam.

"There is considerable student opposition to our formidable defense budget. Why, they ask, do funds for domestic and educational programs get cut while the Defense budget goes almost unchallenged?"

—Abridged from a report to Nixon June 17 by 22 GOP Congressman, all but two in their 30s, on their study tour of the nation's campuses. The full text is available from Rep. Bill Brock (Tenn.) their leader.

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SENATOR FULBRIGHT PERFORMED another public service when he protested the hasty way the confirmation hearing on the new Chief Justice was handled (less than 19 pages of testimony; hostile witnesses were not heard) and its swift submission to the Senate before the printed record was available. McCarthy, Nelson and Young of Ohio voted "Nay" and Fulbright "present" in protest. Both Eastland's Judiciary Committee (which scents a kindred spirit in Burger) and the Senate treated the highest post in the nation's judiciary as casually as if it were a Postmastership.

FAR FROM OVERSTEPPING its authority, as some have alleged, the Supreme Court refused to be stultified and gulled when it took jurisdiction in the El Paso Gas case and remanded to the District Court for the full divestiture it originally decreed to block the El Paso-Natural Gas merger and to restore competition in natural gas in California. The Nixon Administration is far from abiding by the Caesar's wife rule. Nixon and Attorney General Mitchell were senior partners in the law firm through which El Paso has been fighting this case since 1961, and the firm's fees were three quarters of a million dollars in 1961-67. Four days after Mitchell took office, the Justice Department ordered the anti-trust case against El Paso dropped. The Court declined to be fooled by shifts in California's representation and has ordered a "cash sale" and the "severance of all managerial and financial connections" to stop the merger and enforce its original order.

THAT SENSATIONAL TESTIMONY about the Black Panthers before the McClellan committee was tainted and one-sided. The witness was a member who was expelled after a robbery for which he was convicted. After three months in jail, his jail sentence was commuted and his probation was suspended conditionally. Thus he is still under the thumb of the authorities. Unless the Committee airs the other side of the story, this will look like another attempt to smear the Panthers.

On The CIA's Pet "Operation Phoenix"

Saigon, June 20—Memers of South Vietnam's lower House bitterly interrogated two high ranking Minister Generals today about police state tactics used in the American-inspired [and CIA-supervised—IFS] Phoenix program. Deputies charge that illegal arrests, long-term imprisonments without charges or trials, shakedowns and murders during ostensibly paramilitary operations against guerrilla agents have become widespread. The Phoenix program, which has been highly touted by American officials since its inception last Fall, involves an attempt to compile dossiers on Viet Cong agents . . . Representative Tran Ngoc Chau, Secretary General of the House, said police actions were often designed "to frame nationalists as Communists." "Does the Government try to brand all those who did not vote for President Thieu — all 67% of the voters — as Communists or pro-Communists?" he asked.

—Bentley Orrick in Baltimore Sun *June 21.*

WE URGE THE GORE COMMITTEE to look into that full page advertisement which claimed that 84% of the voters were in favor of the ABM. Six former Presidents of the American Association for Public Opinion Research in a joint letter to the *New York Times* (June 20) questioned its reliability and said the methods used "must be damaging to the professional standards of opinion research." It ought also to question William J. Casey, organizer and chairman of the ABM committee which arranged the poll and ran the ad. Casey has now been appointed by Nixon to the Advisory Committee of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. This requires Senate confirmation. Casey's activities have long been hostile to arms control and disarmament. He was with the Research Institute of America, a cold war public relations outfit, and the National Strategy Information Center, a right wing "think tank."

The Kind of Freedom Our Blood and Treasure Defend in South Vietnam

"In a message cabled to President Nixon from Saigon the Study Team said: 'Speaking for peace or in any other way opposing the government of South Vietnam easily brings the charge of Communist sympathy and subsequent arrest . . . There must be no illusion that this climate of religious and political suppression is compatible with either a representative or a stable government.'

"Members of the Study Team met with leaders of five old line political parties no longer permitted to function. These men have all been active in the resistance movement against the French and were ardent nationalists. Their parties have been outlawed, their requests to publish a newspaper have gone unanswered. These men reflect a vast middle position. They have known imprisonment and sacrifice. (A retired General present had been in prison 11 times).

"The large majority of those imprisoned are held because they oppose the government. Ambassador Colby, General Abrams' Deputy for Pacification, said the number of prisoners had gone up and will continue to go up as pacification continues. The Study Team spent several hours at the Women's prison. The cells and large prison rooms were overcrowded. This was especially hard on nursing mothers and those with small children. Sanitation was primitive and inadequate. Team members were concerned about the large number of prisoners who had not been sentenced after many months of detention, the inhumanity of some sentences (one slight old woman who, according to her dossier, had passed VC letters, had served 10 years of a 15 year sentence) . . . and the extreme youthfulness of many inmates. There were 50 children from birth to 13 years of age.

"Although Team members observed no brutality, they noted the fearful reaction of the inmates whenever prison officials appeared. All prisoners are oppressed by conditions of overcrowding. Sometimes many prisoners are stuffed into small cells which do not allow for lying down or sometimes even for sitting; and this, when it is steam-hot, when excrement accumulates, and when the prisoners are seldom released for exercise, is torture indeed. Beating is the most common form of abuse. Several ex-prisoners testified that it is not unusual to torture family members, including children, before the eyes of the prisoners.

"The Study Team has reached the conclusion that the Thieu-Ky government has imprisoned thousands of persons without the most fundamental elements of a fair hearing, and in a shocking number of instances, without even apprising the imprisoned persons of the charges against them. This extraordinary development has had a chilling impact on all political activities."

—Abridged from the report by a U.S. Study Team on Religious and Political Freedom in Vietnam which included Bishop James Armstrong of the United Methodist Church; Robert F. Drinan, S.J., Dean of Boston Law School; Rear Admiral Arnold E. True, ret. U.S. Navy and Congressman Conyers of Detroit. Text at p. H4984 Congressional Record June 18 or obtainable from Conyer's office.

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Hoover Has Smeared Every Progressive Movement In His Time

(Continued from Page One)

and that the end justifies the means. The Attorney General would read the wiretap restrictions inherent in the Constitution and explicit in last year's Crime Control Act as if they did not exist, and treat the wiretap loopholes in the Act as if they were limitless invitations to political espionage. The tapping of King's telephones shows that no movement, however legitimate, and no leadership, however world-famous, is secure from snoop and smear. While the excuse for tapping King's phones was "internal security" its chief result was to permit the FBI to spread stories about King's sex life.

"Barnyard Gossip" Not Internal Security

Carl Rowan in his column (*Washington Star*, June 15) said "FBI officials were going before Congressional committees and partly justifying larger appropriations by titillating some Congressmen" with "tid-bits" picked up through wiretaps and buggings. In 1964 and 1965 as head of the U.S. Information Agency, Rowan had access to these FBI reports. "I know how much dirt the FBI has dug up," he wrote of them in a second column June 20, "and 90 percent of it is barnyard gossip that has nothing to do with 'internal security' or 'Marxist influences.'" What a way to pander to hateful Southern stereotypes! Imagine what could be done with bedroom taps of Southern Senators or police chiefs! How would J. Edgar Hoover like to have his bedroom tapped and the eavesdroppings leaked to political enemies?

J. Edgar Hoover has waged psychological warfare against every progressive movement in America during his long tenure as head of the FBI. As far back as the Dies Committee in the 30s, his Bureau helped to smear the New Dealers. When the Republicans won control of Congress after the war, he gave Robert E. Lee of the FBI, now of the FCC, a leave of absence to furnish the Taber committee with those lists of "subversives" in the government with which Hoover's friend, Joe McCarthy, later made his career. When the Republicans won the Presidency in 1952, Hoover joined with Attorney General Brownell to put the "twenty years of treason" label on the Democrats. Now that the Republicans are in again, Hoover is working at the same old stand, but with enhanced power. His old friend Nixon is in the White House. One man who shares Hoover's troglodyte views is Attorney General and another has just been sworn in as Chief Justice. The King smears parallel Nixon's "Southern strategy."

Hoover first leaked word that Robert Kennedy had authorized a King wiretap during the Oregon primary last year. Hoover hated both men. In an interview with the *Washington Star* June 19, Hoover again blamed Kennedy and attributed the tap to King's "Marxist ideas and associations." Former Attorney General Katzenbach who was Kennedy's deputy and former Attorney General Ramsey Clark both called Hoover's version deceptive. Hoover would like to see King and Kennedy assassinated again, this time morally. Fresh leaks to Congressman Rarick of Louisiana, a backwoods Joe McCarthy, are previews of smears to come.* In the wake of the shocking Algiers Motel acquittal, it is impossible to imagine anything more likely further to embitter and alienate black America. Hoover has furnished the Violence Commission with Exhibit A in showing how the police mentality threatens racial peace and social order in America.

Portrait of A New Nixon Appointee

Donald E. Johnson of West Branch today delivered a sharply worded attack on what he termed "lice-ridden demagogues" who have disrupted American campuses. Johnson's remarks at the ROTC commissioning ceremony on the University of Iowa campus this morning came less than 24 hours after President Nixon nominated Johnson to become the Chief of the Veterans' Administration. Johnson blasted what he called "noxious bands of defiant rabble-arrogant extremists" . . . among [them] Johnson said, "I place the self-professed Maoists, Che-ists and lice-ridden demagogues of the New Left." —Iowa City Press-Citizen, *June 6.*

"Johnson had been defeated in two bids for public office. His first defeat was for a seat on the local school board in 1959. He lost after he instigated a move to force the resignation of a Quaker teacher who had been sentenced to 18 months in prison in 1948 after being convicted of failure to register for the draft. West Branch is a Quaker community."

—Same Paper, Same Day, from West Branch.

*** See p. E4927 of the Congressional Record June 16 and page E5056 of the Record for June 18.**

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